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SPEECH BEFORE

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SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB WERE ASSURED THAT A BILL TO WEAKEN THE CLEAN AIR ACT WOULD BE SWIFTLY REPORTED FROM THE ENERGY AND COMMERCE COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE. SINCE THEN, HOWEVER, THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION EXPRESS TRAIN--OR MAYBE I SHOULD CALL IT A LIMOUSINE, CONSIDERING WHO'S ON BOARD--HAS SLOWED TO THE PACE OF FREEWAY TRAFFIC ON A SMOGGY FRIDAY AFTERNOON IN LOS ANGELES. COMMITTEE ACTION HAS BEEN POSTPONED INDEFINITELY, AND THERE IS INCREASING GLOOM ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY BILL THIS YEAR.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IS THAT THE VOICES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO BE HEARD. THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN POLLUTERS AND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION IS STARTING TO FEEL RESISTANCE FROM CITIZENS WHO DON'T WANT TO CONTINUE TO BREATHE POLLUTED AIR AND WHO DON'T WANT TO SEE CLEAN AREAS BECOME DIRTY.

THIS IS NOT SURPRISING. THE INDUSTRY WISH-LIST FOR AMENDING THE CLEAN AIR ACT IS SIMPLY TOO EXTREME. IT GOES WELL BEYOND THE GENUINE ADJUSTMENTS THAT ARE NEEDED.

WE ARE NOW AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE. INDUSTRY CAN CONTINUE TO TRY TO PRESS FOR ITS EXTREME PROPOSALS, AND TO PLAY CONFRONTATION POLITICS. THIS WILL PULL US INTO SUCH A

POLARIZED POSITION THAT WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO RECONCILE ALL THE COMPETING INTERESTS AND PASS A BILL. OR WE CAN BEGIN TO SEE SOME MODERATION, AND AN ACCEPTANCE OF THE BASIC FABRIC OF THE CURRENT LAW. SO THE WEEKS AHEAD MAY DETERMINE WHAT KIND OF BILL WE SEE THIS YEAR.

I KNOW YOU HAVE BEEN TOLD ABOUT THE DRASTIC SANCTIONS EPA WILL IMPOSE AGAINST THE STATES IF WE DON'T PASS THE INDUSTRY-BACKED BILL. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT CONGRESS WILL BE PANICKED INTO A BILL THAT IS FAR TOO EXTREME TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THAT IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH WHAT THE CLEAN AIR ACT IS ALL ABOUT. THE FACT IS THAT THE LAW DOES NOT REQUIRE AN IMMEDIATE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS. IF WE GET TO THE POINT AT THE END OF THE YEAR WHERE IT IS UNLIKELY THAT COMPREHENSIVE LEGISLATION WILL PASS, THERE CAN BE A LIMITED BILL TO DEAL WITH THESE ISSUES.

I FIND THE WHOLE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS RATHER IRONIC. THIS IS AN EPA THAT BRINGS FEW ENFORCEMENT CASES AGAINST POLLUTERS. . . WHOSE ENFORCEMENT DIVISION IS BADLY DEMORALIZED. THIS IS AN EPA WHOSE ADMINISTRATOR EVEN PROMISES COMPANIES THAT SHE WILL NOT ENFORCE THE LAW. . . WHOSE ADMINISTRATOR BENDS THE RULES TO ALLOW THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW POLLUTION SOURCES WITHOUT CONTROLS. YET SOMEHOW THIS EPA TURNS INTO AN ABSOLUTE TIGER WHEN IT COMES TO CUTTING OFF POLLUTION CONTROL GRANTS TO STATES, OR TO THREATENING TO HALT HIGHWAY AND SEWAGE TREATMENT CONSTRUCTION. I DON'T THINK

THESE SCARE TACTICS WILL FOOL CONGRESS, THE STATES OR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

A MUCH BETTER WAY TO HAVE A BILL THIS YEAR WILL BE FOR INDUSTRY TO BEGIN TO SHOW MODERATION. THE CLEAN AIR ACT DOES NOT NEED FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE. WE DO NOT NEED TO RETREAT FROM THE GOALS THAT WERE SET IN 1970 AND 1977.

MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED UNDER THE CURRENT ACT. THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TESTIFIED BEFORE MY SUBCOMMITTEE LAST YEAR THAT THE CLEAN AIR ACT HAS IMPROVED THE OVERALL QUALITY OF OUR NATION'S AIR. PARTICULATE EMISSIONS HAVE BEEN CUT IN HALF. LEVELS OF CARBON MONOXIDE AND SULFUR DIOXIDE GAS IN URBAN AREAS HAVE DECREASED BY FORTY PERCENT.

BUT NEITHER CAN WE SIMPLY DECLARE THAT THE BATTLE FOR CLEAN AIR HAS BEEN WON. THERE IS STILL MUCH TO BE DONE.

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS CONTINUE TO BREATHE AIR THAT CAUSES DEATH AND DISEASE. AIR QUALITY STANDARDS SET YEARS AGO TO PROTECT PUBLIC HEALTH ARE STILL BEING EXCEEDED ACROSS THE NATION. THE STANDARD FOR OZONE, THE BROWN SMOG FROM AUTO EXHAUSTS, IS VIOLATED IN VIRTUALLY EVERY MAJOR CITY ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

IN ALL, OVER 140 MILLION PEOPLE FROM COAST TO COAST ARE

EXPOSED TO HARMFUL LEVELS OF OZONE. VIOLATIONS OF THE OZONE STANDARD CAUSE REAL DISCOMFORT. SOME OF YOU MAY RECALL THE SMOG EPISODES IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA THE PAST SEVERAL SUMMERS. AREA HOSPITALS WERE CROWDED WITH PATIENTS. ELDERLY PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH A HISTORY OF HEART DISEASE, WERE UNABLE TO LEAVE THEIR HOMES. PARENTS WERE CAUTIONED NOT TO LET THEIR CHILDREN PLAY OUTSIDE. THE ONLY BENEFITS FROM THE SMOG WENT TO SELLERS OF OXYGEN TANKS--THEY REPORTED RECORD BUSINESS.

THE CARBON MONOXIDE STANDARD CONTINUES TO BE VIOLATED IN OVER ONE HUNDRED AREAS ACROSS THE NATION. EPA'S RESPONSE TO THIS, INCIDENTALLY, IS CLASSIC; RATHER THAN TRY TO CONTROL THE PROBLEM, EPA WANTS TO DEFINE IT OUT OF EXISTENCE BY RELAXING THE STANDARD.

VERY TOXIC POLLUTANTS--THOSE THAT CAN CAUSE CANCER AND OTHER LIFE-THREATENING DISEASES--ALSO REMAIN UNCONTROLLED. SINCE 1970, EPA HAS IDENTIFIED MORE THAN FORTY POLLUTANTS FOR POSSIBLE REGULATION. YET ONLY SEVEN HAVE BEEN LISTED AS HAZARDOUS; AND OF THAT SEVEN, ONLY FOUR ARE ACTUALLY BEING REGULATED. MANY SUBSTANCES THAT ARE REGULATED UNDER OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS REMAIN UNCONTROLLED UNDER THE CLEAN AIR ACT.

CLEARLY, THE PUBLIC HEALTH IS STILL BEING ENDANGERED BY AIR POLLUTION. AS CHAIRMAN OF A SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH, I

REMAIN CONVICTED THAT WE MUST DEVOTE OURSELVES TO ENDING THIS THREAT.

WE MUST ALSO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ECONOMIC TOLL THAT AIR POLLUTION CAUSES. RECENTLY, THE OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT AND THE CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE ESTIMATED THAT OZONE POLLUTION ALONE IS COSTING AMERICAN FARMERS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ANNUALLY IN LOST CROPS. A COMPLETE DAMAGE ESTIMATE COVERING ALL POLLUTANTS AND ALL CROPS WOULD RUN FAR HIGHER.

THIS POLLUTION IS NOT THE RESULT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S KILLER TREES, OR ANY OTHER NATURAL CAUSE. IT IS THE RESULT OF THE LONG-RANGE TRANSPORT INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE OF AIR FROM SMOKESTACKS AND TAILPIPES.

LONG-RANGE TRANSPORT IS ALSO LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ALARMING PROBLEM OF ACID RAIN. DURING HEARINGS LAST YEAR, MY SUBCOMMITTEE WAS TOLD THAT HUNDREDS OF LAKES ARE DYING IN EASTERN CANADA AND THE NORTHEAST. ACID RAIN MAY ALSO DECREASE FOREST GROWTH AND FARM PRODUCTIVITY. THIS WOULD HAVE A DEVASTATING IMPACT ON THE LUMBER AND AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES.

ACID RAIN MAY EVEN POSE A THREAT TO HUMAN HEALTH, BY INCREASING THE CONCENTRATION OF POISONOUS HEAVY METALS IN DRINKING WATER SUPPLIES. AND THE SAME FINE PARTICLES THAT

CAUSE ACID RAIN--PARTICLES OF SULFATES AND NITRATES ONE MILLIONTH OF A METER IN DIAMETER, SO SMALL THEY CAN PASS INTO THE DEEPEST PARTS OF THE LUNG--HAVE ALSO BEEN ESTIMATED TO CAUSE UP TO FIFTY THOUSAND PREMATURE DEATHS PER YEAR IN THE EASTERN UNITED STATES.

THE CAUSE OF THESE PROBLEMS IS SULFUR DIOXIDE, LARGELY FROM POWER PLANTS; AND NITROGEN OXIDES, FROM POWER PLANTS AND FROM AUTO EXHAUSTS. EVEN INDUSTRY SCIENTISTS AGREE ON THIS. THE ONLY DISPUTE IS EXACTLY HOW TO GO ABOUT DEVISING THE CURE.

WE ARE PAYING A HIGH PRICE FOR AIR POLLUTION IN HUMAN HEALTH AND ECONOMIC LOSS. AND THIS PRICE FAR OUTWEIGHS THE COSTS OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM. THE GAINS THAT WE HAVE MADE HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED AT MODERATE COST.

THE ENTIRE QUESTION OF THE COST OF CLEAN AIR WAS VERY CAREFULLY EXAMINED BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON AIR QUALITY. THIS COMMISSION WAS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS TO STUDY THE CLEAN AIR ACT'S REQUIREMENTS AND ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES FOR ACHIEVING CLEAN AIR.

THE COMMISSION FOUND:

THAT THE CLEAN AIR ACT HAS NOT AND WILL NOT AFFECT NATIONAL INCOME, INFLATION AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY;

THAT POLLUTION CONTROL REQUIREMENTS HAVE NOT AND WILL NOT CAUSE A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF PLANT CLOSINGS OR LOST JOBS;

THAT THE CLEAN AIR ACT WILL NOT PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANY DOMESTIC ENERGY SOURCE.

THIS MEANS THAT WE NEED NOT CHOOSE BETWEEN JOBS AND CLEAN AIR. WE NEED NOT SACRIFICE THE BEAUTY OF OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDERNESS AREAS TO ACHIEVE ENERGY INDEPENDENCE. WE NEED NOT POISON OUR LAKES AND STREAMS WITH ACID RAIN TO CONVERT TO COAL.

IN FACT, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH FREQUENTLY GO HAND IN HAND. THIS POINT WAS RECENTLY STRESSED BY AN OFFICIAL OF THE UNITED STEEL WORKERS. THIS IS A UNION WHOSE MEMBERS HAVE BEEN VERY HARD HIT BY THE CURRENT DEPRESSION IN THE STEEL AND MINERAL SMELTING INDUSTRIES. YET THE USW CONTINUES TO BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE FIGHTING FOR A STRONG CLEAN AIR ACT.

BUT THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION HERE. THE KEY TO REVITALIZING AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL BASE IS TO REPLACE OLD, INEFFICIENT FACILITIES WITH NEW, MORE PRODUCTIVE EQUIPMENT; TO USE PROCESSES THAT WILL REFINE OIL MORE EASILY, TO MAKE STEEL MORE QUICKLY, OR TO BUILD NEW CARS MORE EFFICIENTLY.



THIS IS IN THE LONG RUN THE ONLY WAY FOR AMERICAN GOODS TO COMPETE IN THE WORLD MARKETPLACE.

THIS REVITALIZATION IS ALSO THE CHEAPEST, MOST EFFICIENT WAY TO CLEAN THE AIR. IT IS DIFFICULT TO RETROFIT A FIFTY-YEAR OLD STEEL-MAKING FACILITY WITH POLLUTION CONTROLS. IT IS FAR EASIER TO BUILD NEW FACILITIES RIGHT; TO DESIGN INTO THEM POLLUTION CONTROLS, AND INTEGRATE THOSE CONTROLS INTO PRODUCTION PROCESSES. SO THE WAY TO REINDUSTRIALIZE AMERICA IS ALSO THE WAY TO CLEAN THE AIR.

IN ADDITION, POLLUTION CONTROL ACTUALLY CREATES JOBS. A REPORT RECENTLY RELEASED BY THE INDUSTRIAL GAS CLEANING INSTITUTE ESTIMATES THAT OVER THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND AMERICANS ARE EMPLOYED IN AIR POLLUTION CONTROL FOR A TOTAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMY OF OVER FOUR BILLION DOLLARS.

I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THIS. THAT IS WHY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORT THE CLEAN AIR ACT. THE POLLSTER LOU HARRIS TESTIFIED BEFORE MY SUBCOMMITTEE THAT EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO KEEP THE ACT AS IT IS OR MAKE IT STRONGER. HE TOLD US THAT SUPPORT FOR THE ACT IS AMONG THE BROADEST-BASED HE HAD SEEN ON ANY ISSUE IN THIRTY YEARS OF POLLING. REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THEY ARE REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS, EASTERNERS OR WESTENERS, PEOPLE WANT PROTECTION FROM DIRTY AIR.

AND CLEAN AIR IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE. MR. HARRIS HAS FOUND THAT ONLY SOCIAL SECURITY AND AID TO SEGREGATED SCHOOLS RANK AS MORE CRUCIAL TO VOTERS.

WHEN THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT BEGAN, I HOPED THAT INDUSTRY WOULD RECOGNIZE THAT WEAKENING THE CLEAN AIR ACT IS UNNECESSARY AND POLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE. I URGED THAT INDUSTRY SEEK ONLY TO FINE-TUNE THE ACT TO ELIMINATE UNNECESSARY OR OVERLY COMPLEX REGULATORY REQUIREMENTS. AND I INTRODUCED A BILL, H.R. 5555, THAT TRIES TO DEAL WITH THE GENUINE PROBLEMS IN THE CLEAN AIR ACT.

BUT INSTEAD, AN ATTEMPT HAS BEEN LAUNCHED TO GUT THE CLEAN AIR ACT. A COALITION WAS FORMED. ITS GUIDING PRINCIPLE WAS TO SATISFY THE WISH-LISTS OF ITS MEMBERS. THE AUTO INDUSTRY WANTED TO WEAKEN STANDARDS THAT ARE BEING MET BY CARS PRESENTLY ON THE ROAD. THE STEEL INDUSTRY WANTED TO BE ABLE TO DODGE THE STEEL STRETCHOUT LEGISLATION THAT THE INDUSTRY ITSELF AGREED TO, SO THAT COMPANIES LIKE U.S. STEEL COULD BUY OIL COMPANIES INSTEAD OF CONTROLLING POLLUTION. THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY WANTED CONTINUED INACTION ON HAZARDOUS AIR POLLUTANTS. UTILITIES WANTED THE FREEDOM TO BUILD NEW PLANTS CLOSE TO NATIONAL PARKS WITHOUT TIGHT POLLUTION CONTROLS.

INDUSTRY WAS ALSO EGGED ON BY THE NEW REAGAN TEAM AT EPA, TOGETHER WITH JIM WATT'S CABINET COUNCIL ON NATURAL

RESOURCES. THE RESULT IS A BILL, H.R. 5252, THAT WOULD RADICALLY WEAKEN THE CLEAN AIR ACT.

THIS BILL WOULD DOUBLE AUTOMOBILE EXHAUST STANDARDS THAT ARE BEING MET BY CARS PRESENTLY ON THE ROAD; THIS BILL WOULD AT LEAST DOUBLE THE ALLOWABLE EMISSIONS BY POWER PLANTS LOCATING NEAR NATIONAL PARKS; THIS BILL WOULD ALLOW NEW NATIONAL PARKS, LIKE THOSE IN ALASKA, TO BE SUBJECT TO POLLUTION UP TO THE MINIMUM NATIONAL STANDARDS.

POLLUTION CONTROL REQUIREMENTS FOR NEW SOURCES WOULD BE RELAXED. REPLACEMENT OF EXISTING POLLUTION SOURCES WOULD BE ALLOWED WITHOUT REQUIREMENTS FOR POLLUTION CONTROL. THIS IS AKIN TO ALLOWING ME TO BUY A NEW CAR WITHOUT EMISSION CONTROLS SO LONG AS I TRADE IN MY OLD CAR.

DEADLINES FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AIR QUALITY STANDARDS WOULD BE POSTPONED BY UP TO TWELVE YEARS, EVEN THOUGH MOST OF THE STANDARDS CAN BE MET FAR SOONER IN VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE NATION. OFFSET REQUIREMENTS THAT ALLOW ECONOMIC GROWTH TO BE ACCOMODATED WITHOUT HARMING AIR QUALITY WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY GUTTED.

AND FINALLY, THE ADMINISTRATION PROPOSAL DOESN'T EVEN PURPORT TO ADDRESS ACID RAIN AND CANCER-CAUSING AIR POLLUTANTS. INDEED, THESE PROBLEMS WOULD BECOME MORE SERIOUS IF THIS LEGISLATION IS PASSED.

EVERYBODY GETS SOMETHING FROM THIS BILL--THAT IS,  
EVERYBODY EXCEPT BREATHERS.

SOME OF YOU WITH LONG MEMORIES MAY REMEMBER THE LAFFLER CURVE FROM LAST YEAR'S TAX DEBATE. THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO SHOW HOW LESS TAXES WOULD MEAN MORE TAXES COLLECTED. (WE CAN SEE HOW WELL THAT WORKED, WITH THE BUDGET RUNNING A ONE HUNDRED-BILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT). THE REAGAN DIRTY AIR BILL IS BASED ON A SIMILAR IDEA--THAT LESS POLLUTION CONTROL WILL SOMEHOW MEAN LESS POLLUTION--THAT MORE NITROGEN OXIDE IN THE AIR WILL SOMEHOW MEAN LESS OZONE TO BREATHE--THAT MORE LENIENT REQUIREMENTS ON POLLUTERS WILL SOMEHOW MEAN WE HAVE CLEANER INDUSTRIAL PLANTS.

THE LAFFLER CURVE WAS VOOODOO ECONOMICS. THE REAGAN DIRTY AIR BILL IS VOOODOO POLLUTION CONTROL. BUT UNFORTUNATELY, MAGIC DOESN'T WORK. -MORE POLLUTION WILL NOT MEAN LESS POLLUTION FOR PEOPLE TO BREATHE. FEWER POLLUTION CONTROL REQUIREMENTS WILL NOT MEAN GREATER CONTROL OF EMISSIONS. LESS IS LESS, AND MORE IS MORE. A WEAKER CLEAN AIR ACT WILL MEAN LESS CONTROL. MORE AIR POLLUTION WILL MEAN MORE ACID RAIN, MORE ASTHMA ATTACKS AND MORE CANCER.

I WANT TO COMMENT ESPECIALLY ON THE SINGLE MOST OUTRAGEOUS PART OF THE BILL: THE RELAXATION IN STANDARDS FOR NEW CARS.

H.R. 5252 WOULD DOUBLE THE CARBON MONOXIDE AND NITROGEN OXIDE STANDARDS FOR NEW CARS. IT WOULD ALLOW EVEN GREATER EMISSIONS IN POLLUTED HIGH-ALTITUDE CITIES LIKE DENVER AND ALBUQUERQUE; IT WOULD AUTHORIZE EPA TO RELAX THE STANDARDS STILL FURTHER THROUGH THE USE OF "INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGY" WAIVERS; IT WOULD CHANGE THE EMISSION STANDARDS INTO "AVERAGES" THAT WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE MET BY EVERY CAR; IT WOULD ALLOW EPA TO CERTIFY NEW CARS FOR SALE WITHOUT EVEN TESTING A PROTOTYPE; AND WOULD ALLOW MANUFACTURERS NOT TO RECALL DEFECTIVE CARS.

STATE OFFICIALS HAVE TESTIFIED BEFORE US THAT CHICAGO AND DENVER WILL NOT BE ABLE TO MEET AIR QUALITY STANDARDS IF THESE RELAXATIONS ARE GRANTED. THE EFFORTS OF OTHER CITIES TO ATTAIN AND MAINTAIN MINIMUM PUBLIC HEALTH STANDARDS WOULD BE JEOPARDIZED. THE RELAXATION OF THE NITROGEN OXIDE STANDARDS WOULD INCREASE GREATLY THE PERNICIOUS HEALTH EFFECTS OF PHOTOCHEMICAL SMOG. OFFICIALS IN CALIFORNIA AND COLORADO BELIEVE THAT ACID RAIN WOULD ALSO BE INCREASED. INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION IN SOME CITIES WOULD BE HINDERED OR PREVENTED. AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE HEALTH OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WOULD BE PUT AT RISK.

THE TECHNOLOGY TO MEET THE PRESENT STANDARDS IS AVAILABLE RIGHT NOW. EVEN THE AUTO INDUSTRY ADMITS THIS--AFTER ALL, THE STANDARDS ARE BEING MET RIGHT NOW.

THE SOLE BENEFIT FROM THE RELAXATION OF AUTO STANDARDS IS A SAVINGS OF FORTY TO ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER CAR. IN AN ERA WHEN THE AVERAGE NEW CAR COSTS ELEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, THIS PITTANCE WILL NOT REOPEN CLOSED ASSEMBLY LINES, OR PUT AMERICAN WORKERS BACK ON THE JOB. INDEED, THE CONGRESS RESEARCH SERVICE HAS SUGGESTED TO US THAT THE RELAXATIONS WOULD HELP LEAST THE AMERICAN COMPANIES WITH THE GREATEST FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

EVEN THE AUTO INDUSTRY ADMITS THAT RELAXATIONS WILL DO VERY LITTLE TO HELP THE INDUSTRY WITH ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. IN FACT, AT OUR HEARINGS LAST YEAR, GENERAL MOTORS TOLD US THAT WE SHOULD NOT GRANT THESE RELAXATIONS FOR ECONOMIC REASONS. SO WHAT WE HAVE IS AN IDEOLOGICAL CRUSADE BY AN INDUSTRY THAT IS UNWILLING TO FACE THE REAL CHALLENGES FROM FOREIGN COMPETITION.

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I THINK THAT CONGRESS IS BEGINNING TO SEE THAT THE INDUSTRY BILL IS UNACCEPTABLE PUBLIC POLICY. THAT IS WHY, CONTRARY TO ALL PREDICTIONS, THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE HAS BEGUN TO MODERATE THE BILL. GROUPS LIKE THE NATIONAL CLEAN AIR COALITION SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO ROUSE ORDINARY CITIZENS TO THE DANGERS OF THE REAGAN PROPOSAL.

BUT THE FIGHT IS FAR FROM OVER. SOME OF THE MOST

POWERFUL INDUSTRIES IN THE COUNTRY ARE LINED UP BEHIND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. I LOOK OUT OVER THE AUDIENCE DURING EACH DAY OF MARK-UP, AND I DON'T SEE MANY PEOPLE FROM THE PRESS OR FROM PUBLIC INTEREST GROUPS. BUT I DO SEE LOBBYISTS FROM THE AUTO INDUSTRY, FROM COAL, FROM OIL COMPANIES, UTILITIES, AND BIG STEEL--THEY'RE ALL THERE WITH THEIR PAC MONEY. TREMENDOUS PRESSURE IS BEING PUT ON MEMBERS BY THESE INDUSTRIES AND BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

I CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT INDUSTRY WILL DECIDE TO TURN AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION. I HOPE THAT MODERATE VOICES WITHIN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY CAN MAKE THEMSELVES HEARD QUICKLY, AND HELP US TO PRODUCE AN ENVIRONMENTALLY ACCEPTABLE BILL THAT CAN PASS THIS YEAR.

I HAVE SAID BEFORE--AND I WILL SAY AGAIN--THAT I AM PREPARED TO WORK WITH ALL INTERESTED ON THE ACT. I HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO DESIRE TO SEE CONTINUED CONFRONTATION--I DO NOT WANT TO SPEND THE NEXT CONGRESS WORKING ON THIS ISSUE. THERE ARE MANY OTHER IMPORTANT HEALTH ISSUES FOR SUBCOMMITTEE CONSIDERATION.

I HOPE THAT IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD, WE CAN SEE AN END TO ACRIMONY, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE, MODERATE BILL THAT WILL CONTINUE THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN CLEARING THE AIR OF HEALTH-THREATENING POLLUTION. THANK YOU.